

Message Text

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EXDIS FOR SECRETARY FROM AHERNE

E.O. 11652: N/A

TAGS: OVIP (HENRY A. KISSINGER)

SUBJECT: FOREIGN POLICY ASSOCIATION DINNER

1) YOU WILL RECALL THAT CARTER BURGESS' MOST RECENT
LETTER TO YOU ON THE FOREIGN POLICY ASSOCIATION DINNER
REFERRED TO QUOTE ONE OF YOUR DISTINGUISHED FRIENDS UNQUOTE
WHO HAD SUGGESTED TO HIM THAT YOU MIGHT REPEAT AT THE
DINNER SOME OF THE THOUGHTS YOU EXPRESSED, IN A RECENT
MEETING HE ATTENDED, ON YOUR APPROACH TO NEGOTIATIONS.
AS LARRY HAS INFORMED YOU, THE QUOTE DISTINGUISHED FRIEND
UNQUOTE IS JOHN STEVENSON; WE ASSUME THAT THE OCCASION HE
HAD IN MIND WAS YOUR SESSION WITH THE LAW OF THE SEA ADVI-
SORY COMMITTEE IN EARLY NOVEMBER. THE FOLLOWING EXCERPTS
FROM THE TRANSCRIPT OF THAT MEETING FIT STEVENSON'S
DESCRIPTION:
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BEGIN EXCERPTS:

A) FROM OPENING REMARKS:

THEREFORE, IF IT ISN'T ALWAYS POSSIBLE TO INSIST THAT
THE POWERFUL MUST PRESS THE LAST BENEFIT OUT OF THEIR AD-
VANTAGE, IT IS ALSO THE MOST SHORT-SIGHTED POLICY --

BECAUSE IF HISTORY PROVES ANYTHING, IT IS THAT THE POWERFUL CAN NEVER PREVAIL INDEFINITELY WITH THEIR STRENGTH AND THAT SOONER OR LATER COMBINATIONS OF FORCES COME INTO BEING THAT WILL CONTEST THE PREEMINENCE.

IT IS ONLY WHEN YOU CAN TRANSFORM POWER INTO LEGITIMACY THAT YOU CAN HAVE A PERMANENT STATUS.

THE ART OF POLICY IS TO MAKE CONCESSIONS WHEN YOU DO NOT SEEM TO HAVE TO MAKE IT.

NOW, THE BUREAUCRATIC APPROACH IS NEVER TO MAKE A CONCESSION UNLESS YOU'RE FORCED INTO IT, WHICH MULTIPLIES PRESSURES ON YOU.

MY BELIEF AS A DIPLOMAT HAS ALWAYS BEEN THAT ONE HAS TO CALCULATE WHAT IS LIKELY TO HAPPEN OVER A TEN-YEAR PERIOD AND TO DO IT BEFORE IT IS EXTORTED FROM YOU. I SAY THIS BECAUSE, OBVIOUSLY, WITH RESPECT TO THE DEEP SEABEDS, FOR EXAMPLE, WE CAN DO ALMOST ANYTHING WE WANT RIGHT NOW. WE HAVE AN EFFECTIVE MONOPOLY ON TECHNOLOGY. BUT EQUALLY OBVIOUSLY IT IS NOT GOING TO BE ACCEPTABLE TO THE REST OF THE WORLD THAT THE UNITED STATES ESTABLISHES A MONOPOLY POSITION. AND WHETHER THIS CATCHES UP WITH US IN TEN YEARS OR IN FIFTEEN YEARS OR IN TWENTY YEARS OR IN FIVE YEARS, I CANNOT PREDICT. THAT DEPENDS ON MANY OTHER FACTORS. BUT THAT IT WILL SOONER OR LATER CATCH UP WITH US I JUDGE TO BE INEVITABLE.

AND, THEREFORE, WE HAVE BEEN CONCERNED WITH A REGIMEN LIMITED OFFICIAL USE

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FOR THE DEEP SEABED -- NOT BECAUSE WE HAVE TO DO IT NOW, NOT BECAUSE WE CANNOT DO IT WITH UNILATERAL LEGISLATION NOW, BUT BECAUSE ONE CAN FORESEE THE TIME WHEN IT WILL BE CHALLENGED SO INSISTENTLY THAT ALL ECONOMIC SECURITY WILL DISAPPEAR.

WHEN THAT IS, I CANNOT PREDICT. BUT IT IS GOING TO COME. BUT THAT IT WILL COME IN THE LIFETIME OF MANY OF US SEEMS TO ME TO BE INEVITABLE.

SO THIS HAS BEEN OUR OBJECTIVE. AND IT IS PART OF A LARGER CONCERN -- WHICH IS WHETHER IT IS POSSIBLE, WITH AMERICAN LEADERSHIP, TO CREATE A WORLD COMMUNITY IN WHICH THE NATIONS FEEL A SENSE OF PARTICIPATION, AMERICAN INTERESTS ARE PROTECTED, AND SOME SORT OF CONCENSUS REPLACES THE TRADITIONAL BALANCE-OF-POWER APPROACH.

NOW, IT'S EASY TO DESCRIBE THESE THINGS AS A GIVEAWAY. I

CONSIDER THEM AN INVESTMENT IN A STABLER FUTURE.

NOW, HAVING SAID ALL OF THIS, IT IS OBVIOUS THAT THE UNITED STATES CANNOT BY ITSELF CREATE THE WORLD THAT I

HAVE DESCRIBED. THE UNITED STATES, AS THE STRONGEST NATION IN THE WORLD -- AS THE ONE THAT TRANSFERS MOST RESOURCES IN THE WORLD -- HAS A UNIQUE POSITION OF LEADERSHIP AND EVEN ARE NOT EXERCISING THAT LEADERSHIP AS MASSIVE EFFECTS.

BUT IT'S ALSO CLEAR THAT ONE OF OUR OBLIGATIONS IS TO EDUCATE THE OTHER NATIONS THAT THEY TOO HAVE A RESPONSIBILITY AND THAT THE NEGOTIATIONS CANNOT BE A ONE-WAY STREET.

IF YOU CANNOT BUILD AN INTERNATIONAL SYSTEM BY THE UNITED STATES INSISTING ON SQUEEZING EVERYTHING OUT OF WHATEVER TEMPORARY POWER POSITION IT HAS, IT IS ALSO CLEAR THAT YOU CANNOT BUILD AN INTERNATIONAL SYSTEM IF ONE GROUP OF LIMITED OFFICIAL USE

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NATIONS CONSTITUTES ITSELF INTO A PERMANENT PRESSURE OPERATING BY EXTORTION, ESCALATING ITS DEMANDS, AND ASSUMING NO RESPONSIBILITY FOR ANY OUTCOME.

B) FROM RESPONSE TO QUESTION:

NOW, ON THE PARTICULARS OF THE SPECIFIC VOTING PROVISIONS -- WHEN, QUITE FRANKLY, MY OWN STYLE OF NEGOTIATION IS USUALLY TO MOVE TO A FINAL POSITION RAPIDLY AND NOT GO THROUGH THE PROCESS OF MAKING A LITTLE CONCESSION EVERY THREE MONTHS.

ON THE OTHER HAND, WHEN YOU HAVE AN INTER-DEPARTMENTAL BODY IN THIS GOVERNMENT THAT HAS TO APPROVE THESE THINGS -- EVERYBODY HAS TO PROVE HOW TOUGH HE IS AND, THEREFORE, YOU GO THROUGH THE PROCESS OF PAYING OUT YOUR CONCESSIONS IN SMALL INSTALLMENTS -- THAT'S A STYLE ABOUT WHICH PEOPLE WILL DEBATE FOREVER.

C) FROM RESPONSE TO QUESTION:

BUT, WHAT THEY (THE GROUP OF 77) DO UNDERSTAND -- WHAT MANY OF THEM DO UNDERSTAND -- IS A LIMIT, BEYOND WHICH IT IS NOT POSSIBLE TO GO.

NOW, WE THEREFORE HAVE A DELICATE PROBLEM. ON THE ONE HAND, WE HAVE TO SHOW THAT WE ARE FORTHCOMING. IF WE TURN THE NEGOTIATIONS INTO A CONFRONTATION JUST TO PROVE HOW TOUGH WE ARE AND JUST TO PROVE THAT WE CAN THROW OUR WEIGHT AROUND, THEN THEY HAVE NO BASIS FOR SETTLING AT ALL.

IF, ON THE OTHER HAND, WE GIVE THE IMPRESSION THAT WE'RE SO EAGER FOR AGREEMENT THAT AT EVERY SESSION THE ONLY THING THAT NEEDS TO BE DISCUSSED IS THE RATE OF AMERICAN CONCESSIONS, THEN WE ALSO WON'T GET AN AGREEMENT.

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IT IS MY JUDGMENT THAT WE HAVE NOW REACHED THE POINT WHERE WE HAVE MADE -- ESPECIALLY WITH RESPECT TO THE DEEP SEABEDS -- ALL REASONABLE CONCESSIONS THAT CAN BE ASKED OF US. AGAIN, THERE ARE MODIFICATIONS THAT ARE CONCEIVABLE -- BUT NOT OF A FUNDAMENTAL NATURE.

I THINK NOW WE HAVE TO BRING HOME TO THEM THAT THE LIMIT HAS BEEN REACHED. IT WAS MY JUDGMENT THAT THERE WAS A GOOD CHANCE THAT THIS EFFORT WOULD SUCCEED, BUT WE HAVE NOT REALLY AS YET ENGAGED IN THE DETAILED CONSULTATION THAT WE THOUGHT WOULD BE NECESSARY BETWEEN DECEMBER AND MAY; AND WE'LL HAVE TO CONSTRUCT THEM RATHER CAREFULLY. WE'LL HAVE TO GET A GROUP. WE'LL HAVE TO IDENTIFY OUR MOST LIKELY ALLIES; WE'LL HAVE TO IDENTIFY OUR MOST LIKELY OPPONENTS. AND THEN WE CAN BE WORKING ON IT, SEEKING TO BUILD SUPPORT AND ISOLATING OPPONENTS.

D) FROM RESPONSE TO QUESTION:

I'VE BEEN ACCUSED OF A STRATEGY OF PREEMPTIVE CONCESSION, AND I ACCEPT THIS. THIS IS RIGHT. I BELIEVE -- WELL, I DON'T WANT TO LECTURE TO SO MANY LAWYERS HERE. I BELIEVE -- IN DIPLOMACY, AT LEAST -- IT IS BETTER TO FIGURE OUT WHERE YOU'RE LIKELY TO WIND UP AND GO THERE RAPIDLY AND THE HANG THERE -- BECAUSE IF YOU DON'T, EVEN IF YOU MAKE FEWER CONCESSIONS AT FIRST, WHEN YOU REACH YOUR STICKING POINT YOU REACH EXACTLY THE PROBLEM YOU'VE JUST DESCRIBED. HOW DO YOU CONVINCE THE OTHER PARTY THAT THIS IS YOUR STICKING POINT AND THAT YOU REALLY MEAN IT?

SO I RECOGNIZE THAT THIS IS A PROBLEM; AND, OF COURSE, I CAN'T SPEAK FOR THE NEW ADMINISTRATION. OUR VIEW IS THAT WE WILL STICK WHERE WE ARE. AND, IF OUR STRATEGY IS FOLLOWED, WE'LL STICK WHERE WE ARE.
END EXCERPTS

2) THE ASSOCIATION FULLY UNDERSTANDS YOUR PREFERENCE NOT
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TO HAVE QUESTIONS WHICH YOU HAVE PREPARED PUT TO YOU. BUT
THEY WOULD LIKE TO BE ABLE TO ARRANGE A BRIEF Q & A
SESSION, WITH NO MORE THAN 4 OR 5 QUESTIONS, ALL OF THEM
LIGHT-HEARTED AND HUMOROUS. I SUSPECT WHAT THEY HAVE IN
MIND IS WORKING OUT A FEW PREPARED QUESTIONS OF THAT TYPE
AND FEEDING THEM BEFOREHAND TO MEMBERS OF THE ASSOCIATION.

ROBINSON

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